HARAMBEE FLAME

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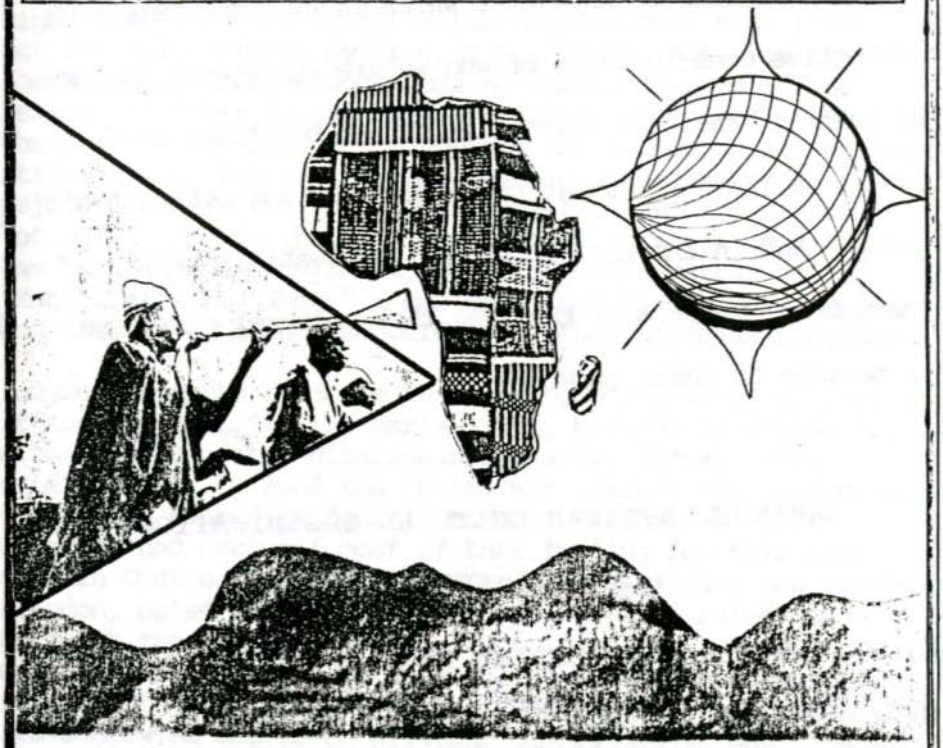

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HARAMBEE AFRIKAN CULTURAL ORGANIZATION CREED

Together we seek to know that which is us, to expand our collective consciousness of who we are and whence we come. We exalt in the fact that Afrikans are beautiful in our own right, rather than at the expense of any other ethnic group. And in the true spirit of the Swahili word, "harambee," we promote the idea that cultural awareness is germane to human growth.

HARAMBEE AFRIKAN CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Alaga(Chairman) - Shaheed Khaleel Hamza

Eso/Alakoso Asha(Sgt.-at-Arms/Chairman of Cultural Affairs Committee - Kenny Walker

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Commentary

It has been more than six weeks since the San Jose Mercury News ran its series tying the Central Intelligence Agency(C.I.A.) to what has become a crack cocaine plague in south-central Los Angeles and elsewhere throughout the U.S., particularly in African communities. This story might have remained simply a Los Angeles-area news item but for hell-raising by Wash. D.C. radio talk-show host, Joe Madison; Congresswoman Maxine Waters; the Nation of Islam; and other individuals and groups concerned about the devastation that crack cocaine has heaped on our communities. Also, the use of computer web sites has been a major factor in the veritable brush-fire spread of this hot news. And in the past week, as of this writing, there has been a two-installment feature on this matter on the "Montel Williams Show," a one-shot feature on "Geraldo," and there have been discussions on other national programs.

Judging from the evidence that has been uncovered so far, it appears that, in the early 1980s, Nicaraguan nationals, with ties to ousted Nicaraguan dictator, Somoza, were raising money to fund the Contra war against the Sandinista government headed by Daniel Ortega. Because the U.S. Congress had cout off most of thhe funding for this war, certain Contra leaders and supporters, including one Danilo Blandon, opted not to hold bake sales but to raise money throught the sale of cocaine. Obtaining the supply from Colombia and elsewhere, these Contra leaders and supporters found what they recognized as a ready market in economically and otherwise depressed African communities in and around south-central Los Angeles. What they needed were distributors.

Blandon, a high-ranking member of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force--a C.I.A.-established and managed Contra organization-found a distributor in the person of a certain Ricky "Freeway Rick" Ross. Blandon and Ross would eventually wind up doing several million dollars worth of drug business, moving tons of cocaine into Los Angeles and into mainly African communities in other parts of the U.S. This high-volume business was made possible by the conversion of cocaine from high-priced powder form to

cheaper, smokable cocaine rocks("crack"). And, as we are well aware, the introduction of crack into African communities soon grew into a veritable epidemic in which many thousands of our people came to be known as "base-heads," "strawberries," etc., willing to sink to the lowest depths in order to get wasted; in which the violence of gang-banging multiplied as it moved from simply wars over imaginary turf to wars over control of rock sales; in which maternity wards came to be filled with the tortured cries of "crack babies." In addition to all this, tens of thousands of young African males(in particular), caught up in the big money of the crack cocaine business and the violence that often accompanies it, have wound up in the nation's jails and prisons.

While definitive evidence of C.I.A. targeting of African communities for chemical warfare(distribution of crack) and directing of what has beecome an epidemic has not yet been uncovered, the evidence that has been produced makes it clear that Contras did run a drug "pipeline" into African communities, using African operatives such as Ricky Ross, and that they did so with the knowledge of high-ranking officials of the C.I.A. and D.E.A.(Drug Enforcement Agency). To uncover whether this was an actual conspiracy on the part of U.S. government officials to further weaken our communities and/or to what extent there might have been such a conspiracy, Congresswoman Maxine Waters has prepared legislation which would mandate an investigation. In fact, Senate hearings on these questions began yesterday, Oct. 23rd.

But whether this moving of crack into our communities was actually designed and directed by the C.I.A. and/or the Reagan-Bush administrations doesn't make a whole hell of a lot of difference. U.S. government officials and their defenders have responded to the allegations by saying that there was no conspiracy, from the top or otherwise, and by challenging the accusers to prove there was a conspiracy. Moreover, they are, in subtle and not so subtle ways, suggesting that the allegations are little more than a symptom of "black" paranoia.

However, considering the history of our experience in this country, it is understandable that we would be paranoid.

There is a difference, though, between paranoia and suspiciousness. Paranoia is an unhealthy emotional/psychological state in which a person has fears and suspicions that are unreasonable, unjustified by reality, and that hinder that person from functioning "normally." But the fears and suspicions we have **are** justified by reality. We are not unaware of the Tuskegee Experiment, C.I.A. cooperation with Southe ast Asian drug lords during the U.S. war against the people of VietNam, C.I.A. complicity in the murder of Patrice Lumumba, the F.B.I.'s COINTELPRO(Counter-Intelligence Program) of the '60s and early '70s, and several other operations and schemes on the part of the U.S. government. If we **weren't** suspicious and cynical about U.S. government claims of innocence, this would unquestionably be a symptom of us being **out of our minds.**

When you have been accused of serious misdeeds, an effective method of escaping the accusation is to discredit your accuser. By trying to make it appear that we are greatly prone to believing in the factuality of outrageous stories of conspiracies and plots, due to some kind of mass paranoia, U.S. government spokespersons hope to escape the accusations they presently face by discrediting our ability to distinguish reality from fantasy and, in the process, minimizing the seriousness of our charges.

But we don't have to prove that the C.I.A., D.E.A., or any other agency of the U.S. government designed and directed a program to introduce crack into our communities. Besides, even with the strength and determination of Maxine Waters and other Africans who are outraged by the probability of of C.I.A. complicity in the creation of the crack plague in our communities, it is doubtful that we have the investigatory resources to get to the kind of information that the cloak-and-dagger people don't want us to have. We need only prove, or find solid evidence, that "Freeway Rick" and/or others were supplied with cocaine by Contra officials and that high-ranking C.I.A. officials were aware of these transactions.

We know that the U.S. government is quite capable of hatching sinister plots, both here and abroad. But just as it is true that this government has such a capability, it is more true that it is motivated by a philosophy of

expedience. If the Whitehouse, or any of its agencies, has an objective, it will do whatever is necessary--or for that matter, convenient--to see that the objective is reached. When this philosophy of expedience is combined with the European(Caucasian)-supremacist ideology, the result is a governmental mind-set that puts us and other people of color in particular jeopardy.

When Blandon and other Contra big-shots decided to use cocaine sales to help bank-roll their military operations against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, their primary objective was overthrowing that government. When the C.I.A. and other U.S. agencies made the decision to help--if they didn't actually draw up the plans themselves and bring Blandon and associates into "the loop"--their objective was the same. Afterall, Blandon's Nicaraguan Democratic Force was given birth to by the C.I.A.

Obviously, if this bank-rolling was going to be done through drug sales, there had to be a market. The African community of south-central Los Angeles, economically depressed, divided by gang rivalries, and politically impotent, was probably seen as a prime market. And in this game of global politics, there would have to be pawns. The Contras were pawns in U.S. foreign policy as it related to Central America. Don't we recall that Reagan and Bush referred to Nicaragua as being in "our back yard"? And Blandon and his C.I.A. patrons needed pawns in south-central Los Angeles. They needed Africans who would be willing to function against their own people's interests. They provided money as an incentive, recognizing that greed can be a powerful motivator.

Ricky Ross would become such a pawn. And it is easy to become a pawn when the lure for your use by others is money, especially when you see signs of wealth around and can't figure out why you don't have it and most people who look like you don't have it. And when you've been brought up in a society that tells you you are nothing without money and the symbols of status it can buy, when the opportunity presents itself, you "go for the gold." "Freeway Rick" went for the gold. He got his money, Blandon and his gang got theirs, and no telling how many hundreds or thousands

(Cont. on page 14)

Editorial Policy

The HARAMBEE FLAME is the monthly newsletter of the Harambee Afrikan Cultural Organization(Nebraska State Pen chapter). Ours is a pan-Africanist publication, meaning that we view all people of African descent as one African people, having certain basic interests in common. Also, the HARAMBEE FLAME attempts to be Africentric, in that, through study of the history, cultures, and traditional values of African people, we seek to have and cultivate an African way of looking at things.

The main purposes of the HARAMBEE ELAME are to stimulate and inform. We list "stimulate" first because, more than anything else, we want our readers to be moved to question their/your own ideas, lives, and the circumstances in which we live and to challenge those things that must be challenged in order for us to move from a condition of mental and spiritual servitude and physical dependence upon Caucasian institutions to a state of collective self-determination. Toward this purpose, we present commentaries, poems, etc. These do not necessarily represent the official positions of the Harambee Afrikan Cultural Organization.

The HARAMBEE FLAME provides information because wise people want to know what's going on and because certain kinds of information can stimulate the mind, inspire people to want to act, and influence them to pursue proper understanding so that the actions they take will be as effective as possible. The main vehicle we use to provide information is our "From Other Sources" feature in which we make an effort to provide news about the problems we African people are confronted by and the steps we are taking to resolve them. In this feature, we try to provide coverage of the activities of African people and developments affecting us in the U.S., the nations of Africa, and elsewhere. "Community News" is another vehicle.

We encourage you to submit your reports, essays, poems, etc. Please enclose stamped, self-addressed envelope.

From Other Sources

Filmmaker Takes Initiative In Getting His Work To The People

"Sankofa is an Akan(Ghana, Africa) word meaning 'one must return to the past in order to go forward'. The movie was independently released in 1993...Distributors constantly told producer Haile Gerima that the film was 'too Black' or it simply wasn't 'commercially viable'.

"The film Sankofa is a must if you want an'unabashed educational, African-American perspective of the African holocaust. It's a vastly different story than the romanticized distorted images of African captives and the slavery that followed, that we're used to seeing...

"Ethiopian-born filmmaker Gerima believes it's important for Africans throughout the world to tell **our** own stories and write our own histories...

"After the major studios snubbed Gerima,m he began renting theaters across the country to show his film. In each city he made personal appearances and relied on strong word-of-mouth to publicize Sankofa. The film often played to a full house...Sankofa is available at Heritage Video, 777 E. Long Street, Columbus, Ohio. The Columbus Metropolitan Library decided against buying a copy of the film and no longer has a VHS copy of it."

-from "By The Way," page 4B, Sept. 12 COLUMBUS CALL & POST(Columbus, OH.)

Congressional Black Caucus Call For Probe Into C.I.A. Drug Operations

"The Congressional Black Caucus recently held a one hour meeting with Central Intelligence Agency Director John Deutch to discuss recent revelations of CIA connections to drug dealing in Black communities.

"The Sept. 19 meeting, held at the office of CBC Chairman Donald Payne (D-N.J.), was attended by some 15 CBC members...Mr. Deutch, who refused to take questions from

the media after the meeting, told the lawmakers he 'would cooperate' with them in probing the charges against the federal intelligence agency. He also promised to order the U.S. Inspector General to conduct an investigation into the CIA, Black Congressmen said...

"A bill introduced by Rep. Waters calls on the House to establish a bipartisan, 15-member select committee, appointed by the Speaker of the House to be called the 'Select Committee to Investigate CIA Involvement in Crack Cocaine Sales to Fund Contras'.

"Her bill would also 'authorize and direct the Select Committee to conduct a complete investigation and study, and to make findings and recommendations to the House of Representatives on the following:

1)Existence of CIA files on cocaine purchases and arms transfers to inner city South Central Los Angeles residents.
2)CIA employment of Danilo Blandon and Edwin Meneses as informants.
3)Diversion or intended diversion of funds appropriated for Cngress for assistance to Nicaraguan contras or the sale of crack cocaine for such purposes.
4)Any other matter deemed appropriate or germane to either CIA involvement in unauthorized or illegal drug sales or the use of informants to provide information on the sale of crack cocaine to south central Los Angeles residents.

"Contra leaders Danilo Blandon and Edwin Meneses have CIA ties and reportedly provided the cocaine..."

-from "Black Caucus Demands Probe of CIA Cocaine Ties," pages 4 and 9, Oct. 1 THE FINAL CALL(Chicago, IL.)

Africans Still On Short End Of U.S. Telecommunications Stick

"The telecommunications industry accounted for approximately $680 billion worth of revenue in 1995, and is expected to double its impact in the next decade. But minority ownership of commercial broadcast stations is an alarmingly low 2.9%, according to the annual Commerce Department report.

"Worse yet, African American ownership of television and radio stations was 1.8% or 203 outlets nationwide, only a moderate increase from the 193 or 1.7% of outlets owned by blacks in 1994...

"The report cites limited access to capital as the most significant reason for the low ownership figure...Other key factors are the elimination of minority ownership policies and subsequent telecommunications reform. Last year, Congress put an end to a tax certificate program established in 1978 that had allowed owners who sold their radio or tlevision stations to a minority buyer to defer their tax payment on any capital gain. Without that financial incentive, the current telecommunications reform has led to consolidation in the commercial broadcasting industry. As a result, many smaller companies have been squeezed out...

"The 1995 telecommunications bill also loosened restrictions on the number of communications outlets one company could own...'Large white companies have bought up some of the largest black broadcasters in the country, and that's a problem', says Lois E. Wright, vice president of Inner City Broadcasting and Corporate Counsel in New York..."

-from "Changing Frequencies: Minority Ownership Of U.S. Radio and TV Stations Remains Stagnant," page 20, Oct. 20 BLACK ENTERPRISE(N.Y., N.Y.)

Court Case Addresses Retroactivity Re: 1996 Antiterrorism Act

"There is a case out of the 2nd Circuit Federal Court of Appeals, Boria v. Keane, No.95-2688 (90 F.3d 36 (2d Cir 7/17/96)). This opinion holds that the heightened standards for habeas corpus established by the new act (1996 Antiterrorism Act) do not apply retroactively to claims in non-capital cases arising prior to the date on which the new law became law. The court relied primarily on Landgraf v. U.S.I. Film Products, 114 S.Ct.1483 (1994) which held that new statutes are not to be applied retroactively absent some clear signal from Congress. Because

the statute, in the context of non-capital habeas corpus is silent, this silence coupled with the presumption against retroactivity leads to a holding that the new statute does not apply to this case..."

-from "Habeas Update," page 6, Oct. COALITION FOR PRISONERS' RIGHTS NEWSLETTER(Santa Fe, N.M.)

Mauritania And The Sudan: Are Arabs Enslaving Africans?

"According to investigators from human rights groups and the United Nations, the slave raiders are Arab mercenaries, militia, and evn Sudanese government troops...

"'The thinking of the northern Sudanese is that they want the whole Sudan to be Arab and Muslim', says Sabit Alley, a...black man who was raised a Christian. 'Now, we southerners have been resisting. As a result, the North wants to raid, kill the men, get the women and rape them, so that they will produce children who will be Arab. They will indoctrinate them, take them to work on farms, teach them Arabic, convert them into Muslims, and they will forget they are captives...'

"Once southern Sudanese are abducted, they are taken to markets or 'peace camps'. At these camps, captives are forced to chant Muslim prayers, take Muslim names, and observe Muslim dietary laws...The markets are even worse. They look 'just like any market where people come to sell goods', days Sabit, only these goods are human beings selling for as little as $15.

"Although the Sudanese government steadfastly denies any involvement in the slave trade, insisting it's the work of squabbling African tribes, these denials have been denounced by numerous impartial observers. Gaspar Biro, a human rights investigator for the U.N., reported last February: 'The total passivity of the government, after having received information for years regarding this situation, can only be interpreted as tacit political approval and support of the institution of slavery and the slave trade'.

"The situation is murkier in Mauritania, a former French colony that gained independence in 1960. Mauritania has outlawed slavery three times since then, most recently in 1980. Yet dissidents and human rights activists say the Islamic government has done nothing to liberate tens of thousands of Haratines..., descendants of slaves or black Arabs who belong to light-skinned Arabs living in nomadic isolation in Mauritania's 120-degree deserts. The commerce in human beings is underground, with slaves being traded between families or given as gifts. These people, who consider slaves to be a sign of wealth, often live in tents with all the different families of a clan, pitching their tents together to form villages. At the side of each tent is a branch-roof pen that serves as home to animal and 'abd' - the Arabic word for 'slave'...

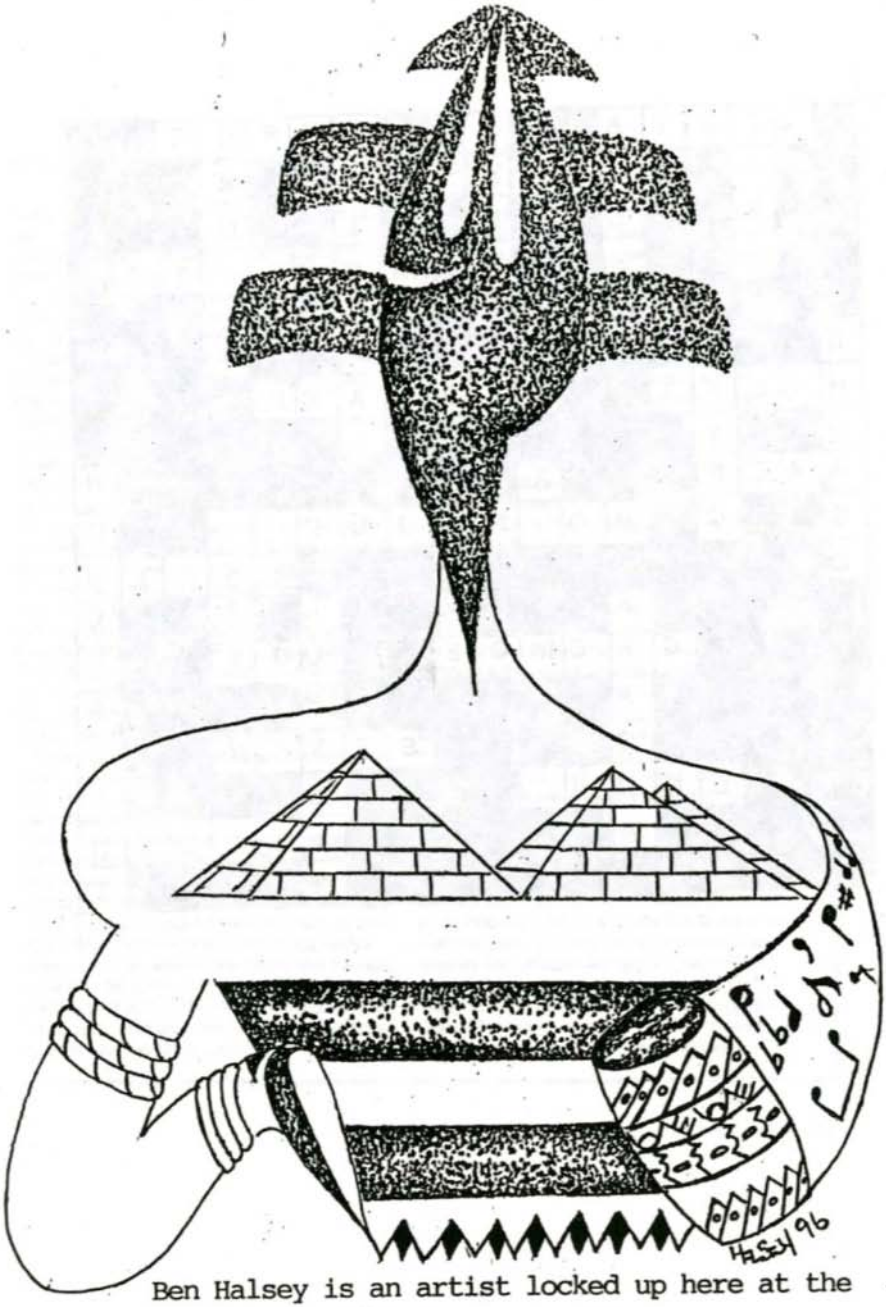
"Haratines, who have been estimated to comprise about 40 percent of Mauritania's 2.2 million people, consider themselves culturally Arab. They share only black skin with their sisters and brothers from the Pular, Soninke, Wolof, and Bambara ethnic groups. While the Haratines wear robes and head scarves of plain colors in the Arab style, free Africans dress in traditional garb and vivid prints...The result is that Mauritanian blacks can instantly recognize Haratines, whom they oftn regard with a mixture of disgust and pity...

"Haratines aren't the only Mauritanians in dire straits-racism confronts other black Africans as well. Five years ago, about 70,000 black Africans were expelled or fled the country after clashes with encroaching Arabs and the Muslim government over land...

"James Muhammad, editor-in-chief of the Nation of Islam newspaper The Final Call, says Minister Farrakhan 'has challenged the Sudanese government to open up to the CBC[Congressional Black Caucus] or a delegation of journalists from black papers, who could go into all areas of the country unobstructed'. He says the government dismissed the charges against them as an effort to destabilize their regime, and so far no such delegation has been admitted. 'Minister Farrakhan does not condone slavery

(Cont. on inside back cover)

Kuumba (Creativity)



Ben Halsey is an artist locked up here at the state prison.

Africentric Crossword Puzzle #12 -Answers

EMERGE'S RECOMMENDED READING

Cuba: The Elusive Island Photographs by Tria Giovan with excerpts selected by Marilú Menéndez (Abrams, $24.95) Cuban-born photographer Giovan took nine trips to the virtually inaccessible island from 1990 to 1996. In this modest coffee table book, she has included more than 100 full-color portraits, landscapes and urban images, complemented by passages, poems, songs and brief memoirs by Cuban writers such as Guillermo Cabrera Infante, in both Spanish and English.

Joycelyn Elders, M.D.: From Sharecropper's Daughter to Surgeon General of the United States of America By Dr. Joycelyn Elders and David Chanoff (William Morrow, $25.95) The former U.S. surgeon general recalls her beginnings in Schaal, Ark., when her mother treated a bad gash with coal oil and a fever with jimsonweed tea, the controversy around her son Kevin's drug abuse, becoming director of the Arkansas Department of Health and going to Washington, D.C.

Blues All Around Me: The Autobiography of B. B. King By B. B. King with David Ritz (Avon Books, $23) At 70, the guitarist and Mississippi native recounts his life and 45 years on the road singing the blues.

Nitty Gritty: A White Editor in Black Journalism By Ben Burns (University Press of Mississippi, $27.50) A White editor who began his career at Communist dailies details his 35-year tenure at several Black publications, including *Ebony*, *Jet* and the *Chicago Daily Defender*.

Powerful Black Women By Jessie Carney Smith (Visible Ink Press, $18.95) Smith, a Fisk University librarian and humanities professor, profiles the accomplishments of 71 diverse women, including, laundress/philanthropist Oseola McCarty, poet Rita Dove, rapper/actress Queen Latifah and Alethia Browning Tanner, who purchased her own freedom and that of 24 others in the 1800s.

The Oxford W.E.B. Du Bois Reader Edited by Eric J. Sundquist (Oxford University Press, $19.95) Covering topics such as Black culture, Pan-Africanism, leadership, art and women's rights, this 680-page text is edited by Sundquist, who is chairman of the English department at the University of California, Los Angeles. It contains Du Bois' key essays and longer works — *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) is printed in its entirety — written during the 1890s through the 1960s, including chapters from his posthumous autobiography and biographies he wrote on the likes of Abraham Lincoln and Booker T. Washington. The source of each work's original publication is included.

African-American Proverbs in Context By Sw. Anand Prahlad (University Press of Mississippi, $20) An English professor at the University of Missouri, Prahlad spent five years listening to proverbs, such as "Hard times make a monkey eat red pepper when he don't care for black," spoken everywhere from bars to Black churches. This academic text considers the proverbs' cultural, symbolic, grammatical and situational meanings.

The African American Heritage Cookbook: Traditional Recipes & Fond Remembrances from Alabama's Renowned Tuskegee Institute By Carolyn Quick Tillery (Birch Lane Press, $18.95) Divided by meal courses, a collection of more than 200 traditional recipes, including Dr. [George Washington] Carver's Sliced Sweet Potato Pie and Mrs. Vera C. Foster's Favorite Southern Gumbo, personal recollections and archival images from the Tuskegee community.

And for children...

Gangs and Wanting to Belong By Stanley "Tookie" Williams with Barbara Cottman Becnel (PowerKids Press 800-237-9932, $13.95) This is one in the series of eight, 24-page books written by a Los Angeles Crip on death row at San Quentin. The author of the series, *Tookie Speaks Out Against Gang Violence*, he tries to teach children ages 5 to 9 and of all races about self-esteem, violence, friends and drugs using his own mistakes.

of Ricky's Sisters and Brothers got ruined lives.

In the interview he gave to Montel Williams, Ross made reference to the days of the slave trade, sharing with Williams that there were instances when European slave-hunters might sometimes not be able to catch certain Africans they were trying to capture and that they would get other Africans to run them down. In making use of this analogy, Ross was telling his interviewer that he understood that he had been used against his own people. And there was some suggestion that he knew when he was selling the drugs for Blandon that he was being used against his own people, or at least that he had had some vague sense of this.

Has Ricky Ross found some consciousness? Hopefully. But right now, he's in jail facing at least one life sentence, due, apparently, to having been set up in a sting operation. His ass was expendable. And while he's facing this big time, his supplier, Danilo Blandon, is, reportedly, living in a mansion in Mexico. Of course, there is no justice in this, just like there is no justice in the many of thousands of Africans in this country doing big time for selling small amounts of crack cocaine while Caucasians who have peddled substantially larger quantities of powder cocaine are either not locked up or are doing relatively short time.

But it is not as though we woke up yesterday morning and suddenly discovered that our people are subject to injustice in this country. And while we're still in our present state of mind(colonial-subject mentality), we're not prepared to stop the injustice. But returning to Ross' allusion to European use of Africans to capture other Africans for enslavement, we can work on building an environment in our communities so that our Sisters and Brothers will feel a strong sense of loyalty to us and to our collective interests and so that there will be real consequences for those who choose to be used as pawns on behalf of those looking for modern-day slaves. We can't stop the C.I.A. or other government agencies from plotting. But we can stop ourselves from being their pawns.

-Editor

Announcements

Chicago State University hosts its Sixth Annual Black Writers' Conference on Oct. 24-26 with the theme "Spirituality, Black Aesthetic and Black Nationalism" on the University campus located 9501 S. King Dr. in Chicago, IL. Speakers include Gwendolyn Brooks, Askia Toure, Cornel West, Haki Madhubuti, Sonya Sanchez, Nikki Giovanni, Amiri Baraka, and others. Entry for literary awards in Creative Writing and Criticism are available. For more information call The Gwendolyn Brooks Center (312) 995-4440.

African people in Nebraska who wish to contribute funds to the newly formed Black United Fund of Nebraska may send contributions to: Black United Fund of Nebraska; P.O. Box 11539; Omaha, NE.; 68111-0539.

African American Images is interested in reviewing your manuscript for publishing. "We publish books written from an African frame of reference that promote self-esteem, collective values, liberation, and skill development. Please mail a self-addressed stamped envelope along with your completed manuscript, or to receive our editorial policy. Manuscripts will not be returned without receipt of sufficient postage." Manuscripts or letters of inquiry should be sent to: African American Images; 1909 W. 95th St., Dept. S/F '96; Chicago, IL.; 60643.

The Mid-America Arts Alliance wants to hear about outstanding jazz educators, special events, and new recordings featuring local and in-region jazz artists, as well as ideas for increasing community support for jazz. Please send your news, CDs, press releases, events listings and ideas to Lee Hill Kavanaugh, jazz editor of M-AAA, 912 Baltimore, Suite 700, Kansas City, MO 64105. Or e-mail directly at: lhilkav @gvi.net

Back In Time

In Nigeria, nationalism also smoldered just beneath the surface and, as in Ghana, burst forth after the war[World War II]. Its foremost leader was Nnamdi Azikiwe. Like Nkrumah, Azikiwe, or "Zik" as he is popularly known, studied at Lincoln University. A member of the Nigerian Youth Movement in the thirties, he later served as an aide to Herbert Macaulay, head of the nationalist group, the Nigerian National Council. He succeeded to the organization's presidency after Macaulay's death in 1946, renaming it the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). In the same year, Great Britain divided Nigeria into three regions, each of which was representative of one of Nigeria's three major tribal and religious groupings. The Northern region, as we have noted, was Muslim-dominated; the Western region, including the city of Lagos, had a Yoruba majority; and the Eastern region, where Azikiwe enjoyed his largest following, was the home of the Ibo peoples...

Akikiwe's NCNC was Ibo-controlled, which made it suspect in the eyes of the northern Muslims. Consequently, a second political party, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) was formed, under the direction of the Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello. In the west, Obafemi Awolowo, a Yoruba chief, who like Azikiwe once belonged to the Nigerian Youth Movement, founded in 1951 yet another political force, the Action Group of Western Nigeria. Each party represented Nigeria's conflicting religious, tribal, and economic interests, an unhealthy situation which kept them at odds with one another and culminated two decades later in the Nigerian civil war.

Source: WEST AFRICA: A BACKGROUND BOOK FROM ANCIENT KINGDOMS TO MODERN TIMES by James E. Trupin

Note: Underlining added by editor.

From Other Sources(Cont. from page 10)

anywhere', Muhammad emphasizes, 'Not in the Sudan, Mauritania, or America'..."

-from pages 100-103, Nov. VIBE Magazine(N.Y., N.Y.)